Museum Collections of the Essex Institute

By Huldah Smith Payson

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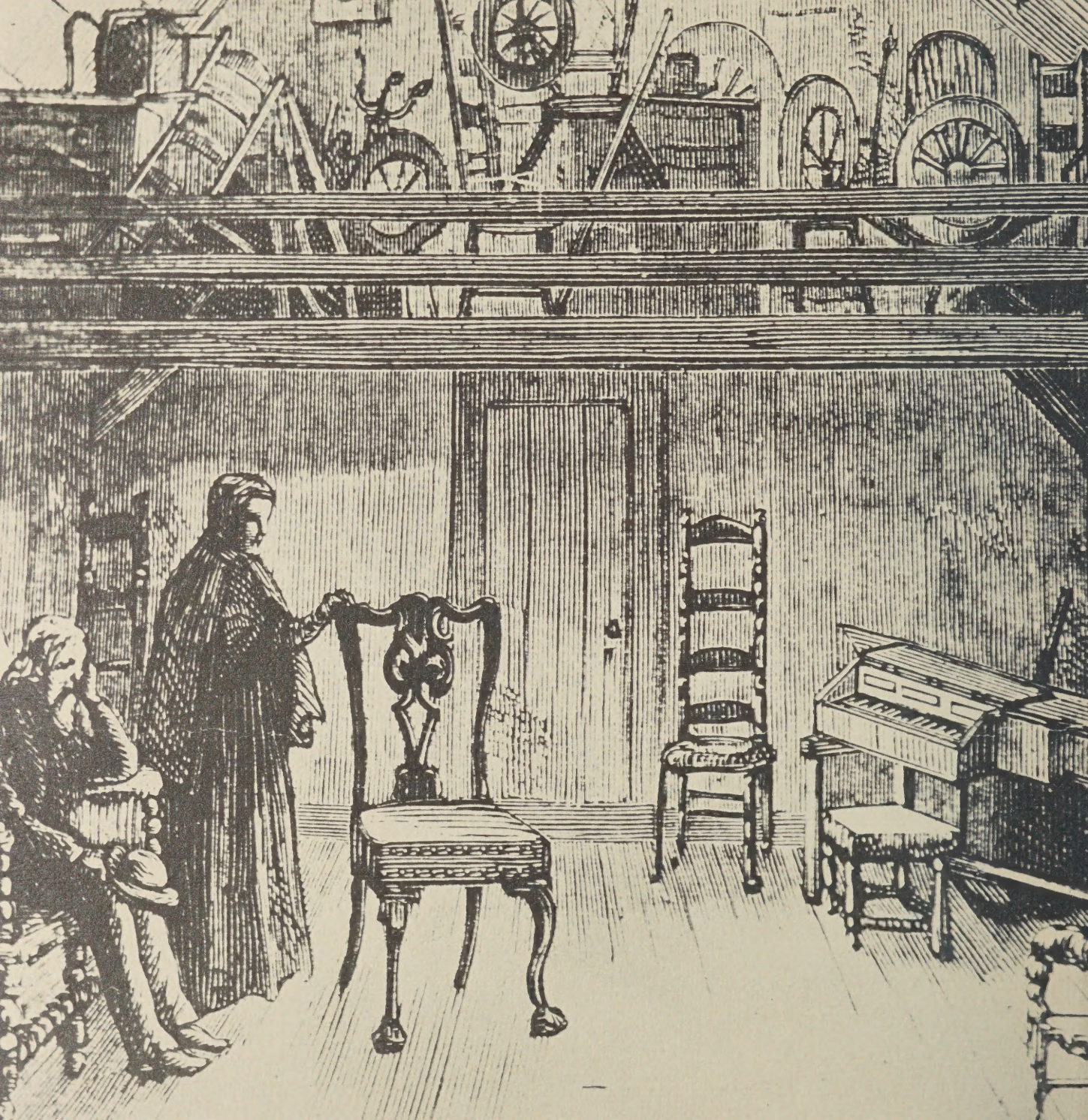

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by Huldah Smith Payson

Essex Institute
Salem, Massachusetts

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ETHNOLOGY
NATURAL HISTORY
MARINE

· 1799 · 1867 ·

Gift of

Essex Institute

Essex Institute
Museum Booklet Series

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The Essex Institute museum received accreditation from the American Association of Museums in 1972.

Inside front cover: Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly Supplement,* 5 August 1871 showing Essex Institute exhibition in "the first Quaker Meeting-House in Salem," moved to the grounds of the Institute in 1865.

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Foreword

1. *Dr. Benjamin Lynde Oliver* of Salem (1766-1835). Silhouette cut by William Brown (1808-1882) in Salem in 1832. Black paper touched with penciled details. H. 9⅛ in. (accession number 112,082).

Summarizing a vast museum collection — much of which defies categorization or description — in the space of approximately seventy pages has been the courageous task of Huldah Smith Payson, former curator of the museum. Keeper of the Institute's many historic and artistic treasures for almost twenty years, she is more qualified than anyone to give us a bird's-eye view of the history and cultural life of Essex County through our museum collections.

The Essex Institute, which was established as the Essex Historical Society in 1821, has been the principal county repository since that time. Vast collections of decorative and fine arts, architecture, and historical artifacts have accumulated through many generations and provide the casual visitor or the research scholar with a wealth of original resource material for the study of American history. While the collections have been well published for a local and national audience in many places, the Essex Institute has never published a guide devoted exclusively to its own museum collections. Mrs. Payson's booklet, the third in our series, fills that gap.

We are particularly grateful to our author for her fine text, to our photographers for their handsome photographs, and to our copy editor, Katherine W. Richardson, for her meticulous work in preparing this manuscript for publication. Our sincere appreciation goes to the Essex County Tourist Council, Daniel Low, Eastman Gelatine, Empire Clothing, G. T. E. Sylvania, Holyoke Mutual Insurance Company, Parker Brothers, and the Pickering Oil Company. Their generous support of this project is tangible evidence of the community vitality that traditionally has made Essex County an exciting place in which to live, work, or visit.

Anne Farnam, *Curator*
Bryant F. Tolles, Jr., *Director*

Introduction

One of the oldest, largest, and most distinguished collections of historic arts and artifacts in the United States is housed in one of the most handsomely appropriate New England settings — the Essex Institute in Salem. As the hub of Essex County (about five hundred square miles in northeast Massachusetts, bordering on the Atlantic Ocean), Salem contains a wealth of material related to the region's history. Over several generations, manuscripts have come as gifts for the Essex Institute's library, and objects of all kinds for its museum and historic houses. Many of these acquisitions have counterparts in Essex County's smaller-town historical societies, sister institutions equally concerned with the story of their past. Among the Institute's strengths is this combination of museum and library materials, reinforcing each other to document the history of the county, region, and nation; another lies in the thorough work of scholars past and present, and the publication of their findings in the Essex Institute's *Historical Collections,* established in 1859 and the second oldest continuously published quarterly of its kind in this country.

Aware of Essex County's need for a repository devoted to the history of its past, Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, with other founding fathers, started the Essex Historical Society in Salem in 1821, dedicating it to the collection and preservation of the "authentic memorials" of Essex County's civil history. Together with the Essex County Natural History Society,[1] organized in 1836, it was incorporated as the Essex Institute in 1848. Since 1821 a richly varied assortment of objects made by, belonging to, or imported for Essex County residents has come to the Institute, the greater part given by local families. The resulting in-depth quality of the museum collection represents not only the famous or wealthy, the intellectual or civic leader, but equally the tradesman, the craftsman, the housewife, and the child, between the years of 1630 and 1930. Portraits and prints, furniture, silver and pewter, ceramics, glass, and textiles, costumes

and accessories, uniforms and weapons, tools, and special collections of clocks, lighting equipment, buttons, and dolls and toys, all take us into the kitchen, the parlor, the bedroom, the nursery, the ballroom, the barn, and the battlefield. The shop of the blacksmith or the carpenter, the weaver or the silversmith is suggested in the tools and products of his trade. In Essex Institute's garden are an early shoemaker's shop from Lynn, completely furnished, and a small houseful of dolls, toys, and games. The Institute also owns and operates six historic houses dating from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth; their period furnishings from the museum collections date from Salem's earliest years up through the Victorian period.

The Essex Institute is accommodated in two portly 1850s Italianate brick-and-brownstone buildings, originally a library and a residence. Two areas on the first floor and three on the second are exhibition galleries. The high-ceilinged main gallery, an ideal focal point for a predominantly nineteenth-century collection, is elegant with majestic columns, decorative iron-railed balcony, and vintage cases (fig. 2). It also contains three period rooms with installation of interior woodwork of two different periods, among the earliest (1907) arranged in this country. Each room is furnished with articles appropriate to its date (see fig. 22).

2. *The Essex Institute Museum,* second floor gallery and balcony; the "pineapple door" and the staircase are from two eighteenth-century Salem houses.

The following illustrations and descriptions are, in general, chronologically arranged. They suggest the variety and abundance of the Institute's museum collections. How the objects were made and why, by whom and for whom, how used, and their place in history — these aspects provide a glimpse of Essex County's people — the most important reason for preserving these "authentic memorials." Leisurely browsing in the museum will reward the visitor with the adventure of personal discovery and with recognition of that common denominator of shared history as revealed in a teapot, a tool, or a toy.

Surely Dr. Holyoke (the founder of the Essex Historical Society) (fig. 3), who died one hundred and fifty years ago at the age of one hundred and one, would have been pleased by these accumulations reflecting the county's past. His keen and kindly face shows a ninety-one-year-old physician, admired with affection and revered as a leading citizen. His longevity he attributed to "a calm and quiet self-possession," moderation in his expectations and pursuits, and a meatless diet; he ate freely of bread and fruits, and his favorite beverage was a light mixture of "good West India rum" with "good cider" and water.[2] The doctor was born in Marblehead, son of the president of Harvard College, graduated from Harvard in 1746, and was the first student to receive there the degree of M.D. He practiced in Salem for eighty years, mostly as an obstetrician; ironically, nine of the thirteen children born to his first and second wives died in infancy. Dr. Holyoke taught many younger doctors and averaged eleven house calls a day.[3] A man of strong convictions, he chose to separate from the First Church, Congregational, and helped to form the new North Church in 1772. Although he never traveled over fifty miles from Salem, he was a founder of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and president of both. At his death he was president of the Salem Athenaeum, the Salem Savings Bank, and the Essex Historical Society which he so loved.

3. *Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke* (1728-1829) by James Frothingham (1786-1864). Oil on canvas, painted in 1819, 25½ x 21 in. (height precedes width) (106,818).

4. *Armchair* made in Ipswich, Mass., by Thomas Dennis c. 1660-1675. Oak, wainscot type; two inches have been cut off feet, H. 45 in., W. 25¾ in., D. 17½ in. (108,886).

A silver cann, a fire bucket, and the clay pipe he smoked at his hundredth birthday testimonial dinner — these and his medical journals are among the Essex Institute's memorabilia of Dr. Holyoke, who for nine years presided over the Society's proceedings in this chair (fig. 4). It was one of the first gifts to the Essex Historical Society, and thus to the Essex Institute, its successor. Made by the "joyner" Thomas Dennis, probably between 1660 and 1675, the chair was one of two listed in the inventory of Thomas's son John, "2 wooden Great Chairs Carved @ 2/0."[4] The Institute's chair descended in the Dennis family to Martha Farley, who married Robert Brookhouse of Salem; he presented it to the new Essex Historical Society in 1821. The companion piece was given to Bowdoin College in 1872 by another branch of the family. Nathaniel Hawthorne, in the second chapter of *The House of the Seven Gables,* describes "a very antique elbow-chair, with a high back, carved elaborately in oak, and a roomy depth between its arms . . .," which may possibly have been a description of this exact chair. Sturdily constructed, as were the seventeenth-century houses, its high crested wainscot back with solid stile-and-rail paneling is still of medieval tradition in its throne-like dignity, and in its closely carved patterns of tulips, strapwork, and S-shaped guilloches. Heavy arm supports and ponderous vase-shaped lathe-turned legs are similar to those found in Essex County, England, as are also the two grotesque figures carved on each side of the chair back. Such seventeenth-century furnishings were among the earliest objects gathered by nineteenth-century Essex County collectors and later given to the Institute.

1630
1730

A brass sundial of 1630, one of the earliest-dated possessions of the Essex Institute, made by William Bowyer of London, was brought over for Governor John Endecott, first colonial governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (fig. 5). He was described as "a fit instrument to begin this Wildernesse-worke, of courage bold undanted, yet sociable, and of a cheerfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either as occasion served."[5] The Essex Institute owns a portrait of the governor, on the austere side; and also a drawn-work sampler made by his first wife, Ann Gower, in England, about 1610. The sundial, its gnomon (pointer) engraved with Salem's latitude, has an octagonal brass surface incised with delicate designs at the pointer's apex and with small stars between the Roman numerals.

The dial remained in the family until it was purchased in 1810 for three dollars by the Reverend William Bentley of Salem.[6] He had seen it before, and on 26 July 1802 had remarked, "The dial lays in the closet as the boys threw stones & broke off the gnomon." By 1821, retrieved by the governor's descendants, it had been placed on deposit in the East India Marine Society,[7] later the nucleus of the Peabody Museum of Salem, which in turn placed the sundial in the Essex Institute.

Of early colonial origin, a cast-iron fireback dated 1660 and initialled IPA for John and Alice Pickering was made in Essex County (fig. 6). Probably cast by Joseph Jenks at Saugus Iron Works, it was for over two hundred years in the Pickering House, built in Salem in 1651 by John's father. The house is currently occupied by the tenth generation of the same family which included Colonel Timothy Pickering, the national soldier-statesman during and after the Revolution.

The "cast back" stood at the rear of the fireplace, protecting the bricks and radiating heat. Its oval bosses and half-spindles imitate wooden ones on contemporary oak cupboards, and the smaller motifs are curlicued like iron locks and escutcheons. A carved wood mold was pressed onto a bed of sand, leaving its imprint; then molten metal was poured

onto the sand pattern and removed when dry.

The Saugus or "Lin" ironworks, begun by Governor Winthrop's son in the 1640s, was active into the 1670s. Funded by a company of "Undertakers" in England, it was manned by immigrant English and Scots ironworkers. Digging and hauling bog ore, building the blast furnace, forge hearth, and rolling-and-slitting mill with water wheels was one of our first industrial enterprises. The company's bar iron was forged into axes, saws, and other tools heretofore imported; "as good as any worke England doth afoarde,"[8] pronounced a company agent. In 1677, hammering out not iron bars, but instead "nothing but contentions and lawsuits,"[9] the Ironworks closed, bankrupt.

Some twenty years later, in 1696, "under the power of a strong and general delusion,"[10] a "jury of plain men" and most of the judges publicly confessed to having rendered faulty verdicts in the Salem witch trials of 1692. Of twenty "witches" sentenced, nineteen were hanged on Gallows Hill and one who "stood mute" was crushed to death. Nearby villages had provided several victims — a lady highly respected, a minister, and a poor demented old woman. Among the accused were Mary (Hollingsworth) English and her husband, Philip.

5. *Sundial,* English, brass, incised. Inscribed by maker "William Bowyer of London/Clockmaker Fecit/I.1630.E." On gnomon, "Salem" and "Latitude 42." Diam., 5¼ to 5½ in. approx.; belonged to Governor John Endecott 1589-1665 (106,949).

6. *Fireback* "IPA," dated 1660. Iron, probably cast at Saugus Ironworks, Mass., 22 x 28 in., weight 144 pounds. Made for John and Alice Pickering of Salem (1,808).

During a more peaceful interlude in her early life, Mary Hollingsworth of Salem had stitched a sampler, spelling her name "Holingworth" (fig. 7). Cross-stitch, outlining, seedings, fillings, and back-stitch, in blues, greens, and rosy tones, depicted stylized floral forms including acorns and strawberries. One of the Essex Institute's greatest benefactors, George Rea Curwen, upon his death in 1900 left a munificent legacy of objects formerly owned in his family, among them this sampler. In 1673 Mary married Philip English, a merchant whose vessels brought from Newfoundland the fish which he then exported to the British West Indies and Spain. Though leading citizens of Salem, Philip and Mary were accused of witchcraft and imprisoned, but later escaped.

One of the Institute's most popular pictures, *The Trial of George Jacobs,* describes the seventeenth-century witch trials with true Victorian sentiment (fig. 8). Acquired in 1859, it was extolled as "a large and beautiful painting."[11] The artist, Tompkins Harrison Matteson, who had painted it four years earlier, conjured up a building far too elaborate for Salem in 1692. He wrung the utmost drama from his subject, using dull tones of gray, brown, gold, rust, and blue. Each of the cast of characters follows set rules for gestures and grimaces, expressive of every emotion from ferocity to pity; each wears the same academically classic face without regard to differences in age, sex, or status.

George Jacobs was cried upon by the "bewitched" accusing girls as "a most dreadful wizard." His granddaughter Margaret and a maidservant, Sarah Churchill, are pictured among his accusers; the standing woman may be Jacobs's demented daughter. He was convicted for inability to recite the Lord's Prayer fluently and for a blemish (devil's mark) under his shoulder. In actuality more independent than shown here, he testified, "Well, burn me or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it."[12] He was hanged with three other men and one woman on 19 August.

7. *Sampler* wrought by Mary Hollingsworth, Salem, c. 1665-1670. Unbleached linen worked in colored silks, mostly cross-stitch, 25 x 7½ in. (4134.89).

8. *The Trial of George Jacobs, August 5, 1692.* By Tompkins Harrison Matteson (1813-1884). Signed "T. H. Matteson, 1855." Oil on canvas, 39 x 53 in. (1,246).

As strict as English judicial laws, the Ordinances of The Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London enforced standards of alloy and workmanship. A pewter porringer, owned by the Herrick family, was made by John Waite of London of "good, lawful and sufficient metal,"[13] and stamped with his mark as the Guild required (fig. 9). It was made during the reign of William III and Mary, 1689 to 1694.[14] The monarchs' profiles, resembling those on ancient Roman coins, adorn the bowl and lid. The royal crown is of a form introduced by King Charles II, and the cypher links "W" and "M" with "R" for Rex and Regina. The central heraldic rose alludes to England, the meandering thistle to Scotland.[15] Perhaps due to Huguenot influence, this porringer resembles large two-handled covered French "écuelles." These bowls made popular gifts for a new mother after the birth of her baby.

Mary Avery, who initialed and dated the earliest-known dated "bed rugg," probably made it for her marriage chest (fig. 10). Warm and flexible bed covers, such rugs were also decorative examples of a household art and were made in a particular way with raised pile in a running stitch on a plain tabby-woven wool. Somber browns, blues, golds, and tans, achieved through natural mordants and dyes, were appropriate to the rug's broad baroque design of ponderous hearts and flowers, symmetrically arranged as if in a formal garden. The border has a strong chevron pattern. A family gift, this rug arrived "preserved," straight from the walls of a California beach house, and backed with a wool sock, a man's ribbed sweater, and a burlap bag for "Laying Mash." As the old New England maxim says, "Use it up, wear it out, make it do, or do without."

9. *Porringer with cover,* made in London 1689-1694. Pewter, mark of John Waite, the maker, registered with The Worshipful Company of Pewterers of London in 1673-1674, (belonged to the Herrick family). Diam. bowl 6 in., H. with lid 3 in. (116,637ab).

10. *Bed rug* made by Mary Avery of North Andover, Mass. Signed and dated "M 1722 A." Corners have been cut at foot for bedposts. Needlework, 98 x 88 in. (129,061).

M 17 22 A

1730
1780

"Here likewise is store of fish, as Basses, Eeles, Lobsters, Clammes, etc.," wrote William Wood in 1634.[16] Salem was a strong fishing port from the beginning, fish being dried, salted, and cured at Winter Island in Salem Harbor until about 1750. Much was exported to Europe and the West Indies. The fishing grounds off the Maine Coast, the Bay of Fundy, Cape Breton, and Newfoundland made many fish merchants wealthy. Among them was Benjamin Pickman, Jr. of Salem; ". . . with the Smiles of Heaven he acquired a most ample Fortune,"[17]

and when he moved into his new house on "ye Main Street," he decorated each step of his stairway with a carved and gilded wood codfish, in homage to the source of his wealth (fig. 11). Pickman had played a leading part in the Council of War during Sir William Pepperrell's campaign in which Louisbourg on Cape Breton was captured in 1745, thus protecting the colonies' fishing fleet from the French.

In 1749 Benjamin Pickman was given a handsome silver cup[18] in appreciation of his services to the colonies as representative to the General Court, justice of the Inferior Court, member of the Governor's Council, and colonel in the Essex Regiment (fig. 12). Baroque in its heavy symmetrical

11. *Codfish,* carved and gilded wood, 1743. Once decorated the staircase of the Benjamin Pickman house, 165 Essex Street, Salem. L. 9½ in. (105,252).

12. *Grace cup with cover* made for Benjamin Pickman (1708-1773) by William Swan (1716-1774). Silver, mark "Swan" in script within shaped oval. Engraved scroll and foliate cartouches enclose Pickman coat of arms and crest. Reverse inscribed "THE/Gift of the Province of the/Massachusetts BAY/TO/Benjamin Pickman Esq^{r}/1749." H. 12¾ in. (100,066).

form, the cup rests on a moulded splayed foot and is shaped like an inverted bell encircled by a band. The separate cover, moulded and domed, is topped with a turned finial. Newly fashionable, the rococo style's curves and counter-curves creep into the C-scrolled handles and into the inverted scrolls and curving acanthus leaves of the engraved mantling which encloses the Pickman family's coat of arms and crest.

The artist John Greenwood, connected with the Lee family of Salem who later gave the Institute many paintings and objects, portrayed both Benjamin Pickman, Jr. and Benjamin Gerrish, Jr. (fig. 13). Also a prosperous fish merchant, Gerrish had some joint ventures with other Salem traders, but that did not inhibit him from suing the brother of one of them about a mare, "pursuing him and the beast through the courts for years."[19] A warden of St. Peter's Church and a founder of "The Old Fire Club" (whose early members included Pickman and Dr. Holyoke), Gerrish at his death owned books by Dryden and Milton, and twenty-one paintings. Greenwood, the provincial painter, filling the functions of "family photographer and embalmer combined,"[20] shows Mr. Gerrish at thirty-three as a prosperous, pompous, and responsible country squire standing in his orchard. Every detail of face and costume is carefully recorded — the rolled and curled peruke, wide-cuffed collarless tan coat with self-covered buttons, and long gray damask "wastcoate."

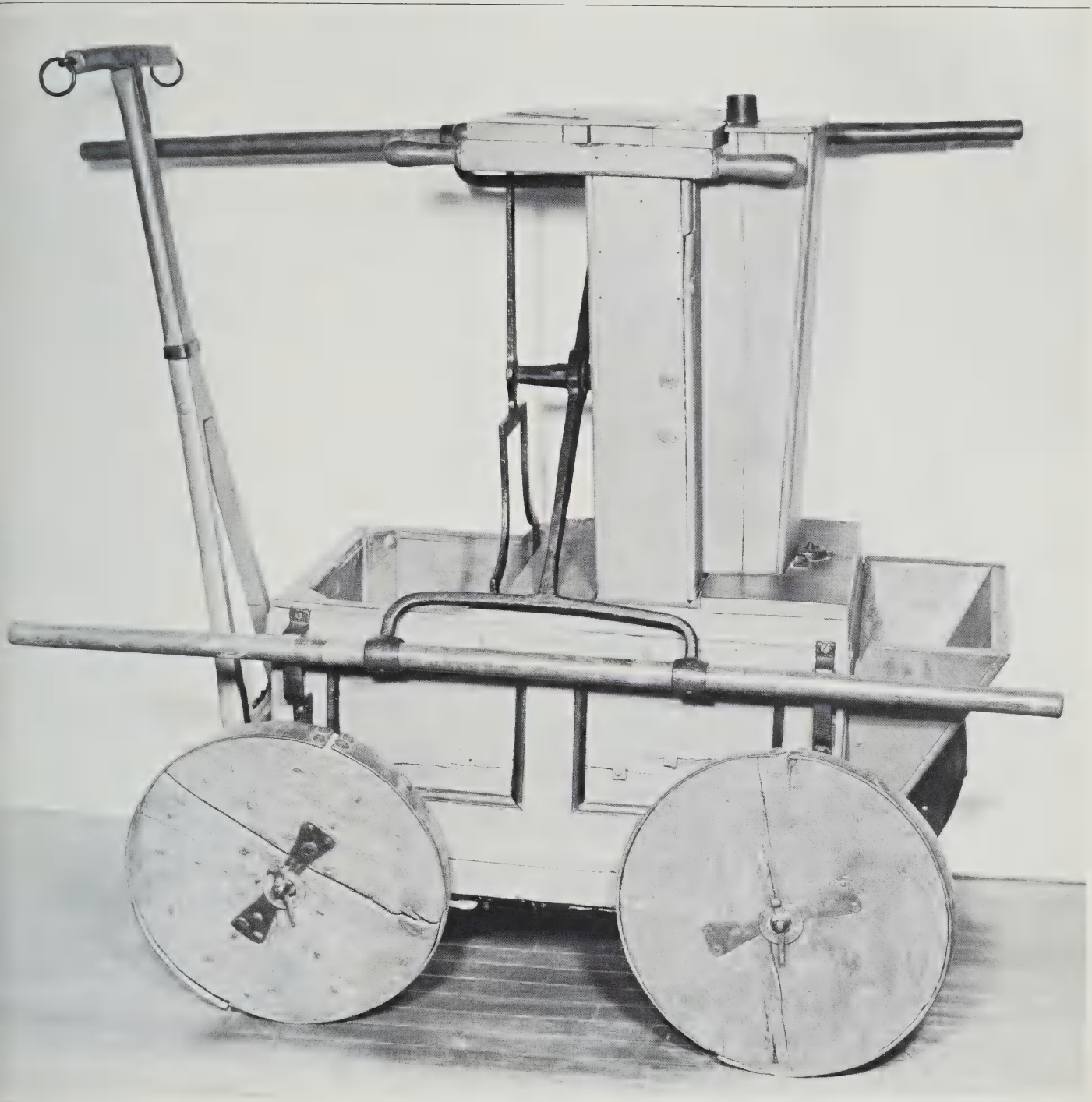
13. *Benjamin Gerrish, Jr.* (1714-1752) by John Greenwood (1727-1792). Oil on canvas, about 1747. 36 x 28 in. (105,414).

Gerrish's fire club and subsequent ones were useful as both volunteer organizations and social clubs.[21] Each had its book of rules, placed ladders in strategic spots in this town of wooden houses, and required every member to own two cedar or leather buckets (fig. 14), to be passed by hand, or later to fill tub-type engines. A linen firebag was required for saving property from burning houses.

Salem's first engine, the "Union," imported from London by Richard Derby in 1749, has two long hand-pump shafts which simply threw streams of water under pressure in the general direction of the fire (fig. 15). In 1861 the Union Engine Company, which had numbered 557 members since 1749, was disbanded due to the introduction of steam fire engines. Incredibly, in 1866 the "Union" was handed as a gift to the William Penn Fire Association of Philadelphia, here on a visit to Salem's William Penn Hose Company. Fifty years later in 1917, at the insistence of Salem citizens, the engine was returned, and placed with Essex Institute's collection of early fire-fighting equipment.

14. *Firebuckets,* (left) Active Fire Club, J. B. King, 1839; (right) Adroit Fire Club, Asa Lamson, 1806. Leather, painted. H. 12 in. (3896.1; 111,540).

15. *Fire engine, "Union,"* brought from London in 1749 for Richard Derby of Salem. Probably made by Newsham of London. Hand-tub, with two shafts, painted red and green; wood, with solid iron-rimmed wheels. H. 4 ft. 6 in., L. shafts 5 ft. 1 in. (109,282).



As civic efforts linked towns with new roads and bridges, Essex County's first stone bridge, built in Ipswich in 1764, replaced earlier wood cart bridges (fig. 16). Its contract specified a twenty-foot width, central pier twenty by eight feet, and water passage of thirty feet beneath each arch. Many considered the stone arches potentially disastrous and waited hopefully but in vain for their collapse. The bridge was named for John Choate who headed the bridge committee, a former colonel at Louisbourg, Essex County treasurer, and member of an ecological committee for "proper Encouragement for improving the Natural Advantages of the Soil and Climate & better improving the Fishery."[22]

A blind Mr. Clark from Rowley composed and recited, in 1764:

Behold this bridge of lime and stone,
The like before was never known
For beauty and magnificence,
Considering the small expense.[23]

The bridge construction came to just under one thousand pounds plus an "extraordinary charge for Care and trouble" (not allowed).[24] On 14 July 1817 Dr. Bentley acclaimed the structure (which still stands) as "the first example of a real Bridge erected in the County deserving of the name."

A late-nineteenth-century watercolor, as gentle as some of John Constable's English views, the painting of the bridge is one of many floral and landscape sketches and lithographs by a later English artist, Edwin Whitefield. For over fifty years he took to his heart the American countryside, as in this delicately pastel-toned Essex County watercolor.

In the same year that the bridge was built, 1764, the widow Hannah Cabot of Salem died, leaving among her possessions "1 suit blew stamped china curtains" with white headcloth and "vaillants" (valances).[25] This was probably a set of bed hangings printed with a blue design, perhaps resembling that on the chintz illustrated. Shown in oriental perspective, the pagoda, Chinese costumes, water buffalo, and fanciful foliage all conjure up visions of "far Cathay." Chinoiserie ranged from exact copies

of oriental themes to whimsical variations.

The Institute's piece of chintz was described as "the first Copper Plate brought to the United States from India, imported by Hon. Thaddeus Mason" (fig. 17). It came as a gift from Mason's great-great-granddaughter in 1873, but in 1960, when the Institute lent this three-foot square piece to the Victoria and Albert Museum, it was found to be neither Indian nor copperplate-printed, but made in England about 1750, woodblock-printed in indigo blue on cotton![26] The only known piece of this pattern, it has always been considered rare; but in 1971 there arrived from another branch of the family an entire set of bed hangings in this same design, two valances and a large canopy. The latter lacks a section exactly the same size as our square received in 1873, and with the set was sent the Essex Institute's original receipt acknowledging the gift of "the first Copper Plate . . . etc."

The craze for chinoiserie spread from Europe and England to the colonies. Since 1600 the East India companies of various European countries had developed a steady competitive trade with the East. Among the first was Portugal, and in 1662 the marriage of Catherine of Braganza, the sheltered Infanta of Portugal, to England's Stuart King Charles II, had brought to her new home the princess's immensely rich dowry of oriental treasures;[27] thus she spurred the fashion for porcelains, silks, lacquer and ivory, pepper, indigo, and especially tea. Some of these exotic goods filtered through Britain to the early colonies; letters, diaries, and invoices document the importation. By the mid-eighteenth century, the serving of tea had developed into an elaborate ceremony with special furniture and a large variety of teasets and accessories of ceramic wares, pewter, or silver. Most pottery and porcelain was imported into the colonies from England or China, while pewter or silver objects were made in England or in the colonies. The "Stamp Act Repeal'd" teapot (fig. 18), fashionably rococo in form and in its freely hand-painted decoration, was no doubt destined for the protesting colonists or for sympathizers with their cause in England. Parliament's Stamp Act of 1765, requiring all legal papers to be stamped to prove payment of duty, was repealed in 1766 due to public outcry; Benjamin Pickman was among the Salem citizens making strong complaint to the General Court. But in 1767 the Townshend Act imposed fresh taxes on paper, glass, painters' colors, and tea.

16. *Choate Bridge,* Ipswich, Mass., built 1764. Watercolor by Edwin Whitefield (1816-1892), probably a preparatory sketch for his lithograph of the bridge. Signed "E. Whitefield," with other penciled notes. 5¾ x 8¾ in. (132,712.1).

17. *Chintz,* piece from a set of bed hangings. English, c. 1750. Cotton, woodblock printed in indigo blue with chinoiserie designs. 34 x 40 in. approx. (1,790).

18. *Teapot with lid,* "Stamp Act Repeal'd," English, Cockpit Hill factory in Derby, 1766. Cream-colored earthenware, lead-glazed, and hand-painted in iron-red. H. 5⅛ in. (121,493).

The first armed resistance to the British, "Leslie's Retreat," occurred at Salem's North Bridge on 26 February 1775, when the advance of three hundred British troops sent by General Gage to seize war munitions under Lieutenant Colonel Leslie was peaceably halted by the people of Salem led by Parson Barnard. Less than two months later the "embattled farmers" of Concord and Lexington in Middlesex County called for help, and Essex County's sons hastened to join the ranks, for example, "Curtis, John, Boxford. Sergeant, Capt. Jacob Gould's Co., Col. Samuel Johnson's Regt., which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service, 6 days."[28] John had dropped his plow to go (fig. 19). They answered the call for volunteers, but did not fight at Lexington. They arrived too late to help either Lexington or Concord, but marched back towards Boston, pursuing the British as far as Cambridge. For this six-day foray Curtis received fifteen shillings and fivepence, to cover his wages and sixty-five miles' travel.[29]

Another April nineteenth recruit, son of a Newburyport cabinetmaker, was Michael Titcomb, Second Essex Regiment, twice reenlisted. He was transferred on 12 March 1776, after Washington issued orders in Cambridge for "sober, intelligent and reliable men"[30] to protect the person and baggage of the commander-in-chief. Reassigned to the Guard's cavalry unit in 1777, Titcomb served at White Plains, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. He was discharged at Philadelphia in 1779.

Titcomb's black leather "jockey cap" helmet has a visor and crest, a leather band fastened with a toggle, and is trimmed with metal chains, a black silk rosette, and braided horsehair plumes (fig. 20). With minor modifications, this type was worn by all mounted regiments from before the Revolution up to the 1820s.[31] This "authentic memorial" of the revolutionary period, the only known surviving helmet of Washington's Life Guard, was exhibited in the "cabinets" of Salem's East India Marine Society before being presented to the Essex Institute in 1848.

19. *Plow,* belonged to John Curtis, Boxford, Mass., who answered Lexington's call for volunteers on 19 April, 1775. Possibly made in Boxford. Wood and steel. L. 7 ft. 10 in. (109,289).

20. *Helmet,* "jockey cap" type worn by Captain Michael Titcomb of Newburyport, Mass. (1750-1819) while a member of General Washington's Life Guard, 1776-1779. Black leather with visor and crest, leather band fastened with toggle; trimmed with metal chains, black silk rosette, braided horsehair plumes. H. 7¼ in., D. 11 in. (1,037).

There were many eager collectors of historic and decorative objects in Salem, and their generous gifts to the Institute form the backbone of its collection. George Rea Curwen's large bequest in 1900 (basically the contents of his house on Lynde Street) included this distinguished mahogany desk-and-bookcase (fig. 21) and other furniture, portraits, silver and ceramics, textiles, and glass, which had come into the Curwen family through marriages with Salem Pickmans, Barrs, and Wards. The unknown maker of the desk gave it the tall proportions and concave-convex blocking often found in Massachusetts. The separate top bookcase section fits onto the desk and has two small pull-out candlestands, and the desk itself has a "pigeonholed" interior. The triangular broken pediment encloses a spirally carved flame finial, and has carved dentils and frieze. Essex County nurtured numerous cabinetmakers, successors to the earlier "joyners." New England enterprise encouraged local cabinetmakers, who adapted the English Chippendale style with a certain austerity combined with originality of design and skillful execution. Other donors of eighteenth-century objects have also been generous, and when appropriate, some of their gifts are exhibited in the Institute's historic houses in settings similar to those which they originally enhanced.

21. *Desk-and-bookcase,* probably made in Salem c. 1765-1780. Mahogany. H. 7 ft. 7 in., W. 3 ft. 3 in., D. 39 in. (4134.59).

22. *New England Bedroom.* 1907 photograph showing one of three "type rooms" set up in the Essex Institute museum in 1907 by George Francis Dow, historian, preservationist, and for twenty years secretary of the Institute.

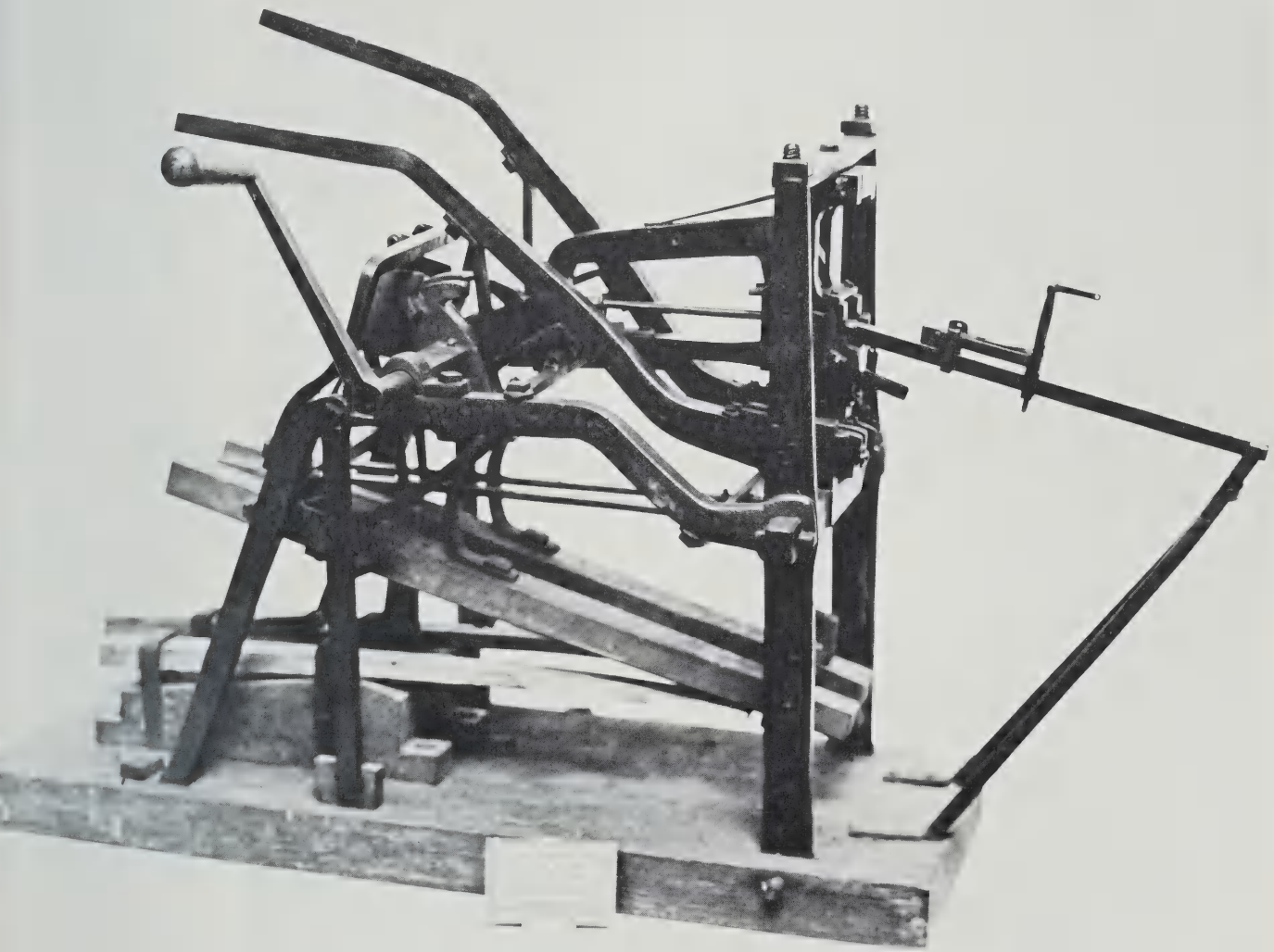
1780
1825

In 1795, as the Industrial Revolution began to mechanize our new republic, Jacob Perkins of Newburyport invented and patented a nailcutting machine.[32] Three years later Nathan Read of Danversport patented his own design, going Perkins one better by building it to cut *and head* the nails in a single operation. Read's working model (fig. 23), powered by two hand cranks, activated different wheels and levers for each step. The nails were cut tapered from flat stock, fell heavy-end first into tubes beside the shearing-head, were clamped in a vise, and received a sharp heading blow from the hammer-headed oak springs below. The Essex Institute also owns Read's scale drawings of the model's elevations, its certificate of letters patent, and his models of a steamboat, a cog railway, and a cylinder threshing machine.

In 1789, eighteen years before Robert Fulton's steamboat, Read's interest in transportation led him to construct and test a manually operated paddle-wheel boat. Accompanying him on her maiden voyage were John Hancock of Boston, Nathan Dane of Beverly, and from Salem, Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke and the minister-scientist Dr. John Prince. They went several miles, as far as Essex, leaving Danversport from near Read's Salem Iron Factory, where from 1796 to 1807 he manufactured marine goods such as anchors, cables, and other items.

Read, a versatile entrepreneur and inventor, married "a young woman of fortune" from Salem, and served Essex County as congressman and as special justice for the Court of Common Pleas. A town house in Salem where the Institute's museum building now stands[33] and a fine house in Danversport, both since demolished, were designed for him by Salem's architect, Samuel McIntire.

23. *Working model of nail cutting-and-heading machine,* performing both functions in a single operation. Patented 1798 by Nathan Read of Salem and South Danvers (1759-1849). Iron and oak; one hand-crank missing. H. 25 in., W. 39 in., D. 21 in. (104,483).



The only known portrait of McIntire shows the plain mien of a plain but talented man (fig. 24). The artist, Benjamin Blyth of Salem, advertised that sitters could "depend upon having good Likenesses." In "crayons," or pastels, he depicted McIntire as blue-eyed and blue-clad. Blyth did portraits of many Salem personalities, while his versatile brother, who made a little spinet now in the Essex Institute collections, also painted, varnished, gilded, and made Venetian blinds.[34]

Samuel McIntire's father was a housewright, and his two brothers and son were also workers in wood. As an architect, interior designer, and woodcarver, Samuel himself achieved a sophisticated and subtle sense of design. He owned books of English architectural styles, and knew the work of the contemporary architect, Charles Bulfinch of Boston.

McIntire moved easily from Georgian baroque traditions to lighter neoclassic ideals. The new style of the postrevolutionary Federal era, based on revivals of classical antiquity introduced by the Adam brothers in England, was elegant with a fresh visual vocabulary. Delicately proportioned columns were entwined by graceful vines. Carved festoons and flower baskets, cornucopias, urns, and sheaves of wheat (but not all at once) embellished mantels and over-doors, while rosette medallions and reeded moldings made stuccoed friezes. Thus did McIntire design, and decorate with the help of assistants, Salem merchants' houses. His eagles — on roof tops, on the 1805 Custom House, on furniture or carved into architectural woodwork — were bold and assertive, whether large or small, carved in the round or in relief. His decorative motifs were always combined with selection, restraint, and respect for space and scale. Many of the carvings on furniture stood out in relief against "snowflake" or "star" backgrounds of punched patterns; McIntire made the most of the beauty of mahogany. But he also billed Elias Hasket Derby for "mending Slay," "making a Birds house & painting," and "sundry small jobs on the ship Grand Turk,"[35] as well as for designing his mansion!

Public structures were also among McIntire's many commissions during his lifetime. On 29 October 1789 Bentley noted ". . . General Washington the President of the United States visited Salem. . . . The bells rang 15 minutes after his arrival & in the evening Sky rockets were thrown from the Court House." Then in 1801 funds were raised for leveling Salem Common, a swampy ground used as a grazing field for cows and goats, and a training field for Salem's militia "forever," as stipulated by vote in 1714. "In 1805, contributions were made for the erection of its eastern and western gates. Being designed, arched and ornamented by Mr. Samuel McIntire, they do much to honor his taste."[36]

24. *Samuel McIntire* (1757-1811), by Benjamin Blyth (1746-after 1786). Pastel, before 1786. 14 x 9¾ in. (123,420).

Those poplars had been in full sway, and McIntire's gates in full swing, when in 1808 George Ropes of Salem, a deaf-mute artist, painted *Salem Common on Training Day* (fig. 27). The south gate with picket fence and turnstile, topped with two urns, separates a parade on the inside, a fair on the outside, and "Nothing happened to interrupt the pleasures of the day," wrote Bentley.[38] Families, black and white, form a stately foreground procession, some on horseback or in chaises; the women wear high-waisted Empire-style dresses and peaked bonnets whose brims echo the long noses with which Ropes endowed all his personages. This was the kind of event Dr. Bentley loved, and he noted on 17 June 1819: "Such days have a kind effect on the public spirits."

The Reverend William Bentley, the minister-diarist who never missed a trick, described regiments, uniforms, deportment, and sham battles (5 October 1813) ". . . ordered for the exercise or the amusement of the troops." He gave praise where due, but pulled no punches when the drill was poor. "A want of precision in their movements discovers a want of discipline," he commented in his diary on 10 September 1806. Imagine this scene (5 October 1813): "Never perhaps were so many men together with so little military experience." But never mind, everyone had fun. The Essex Institute's *Annual Report* of 1919, the year this painting was purchased by subscription, said cautiously, "The curious picture of Salem Common, . . . though not of merit as a work of art, is interesting."

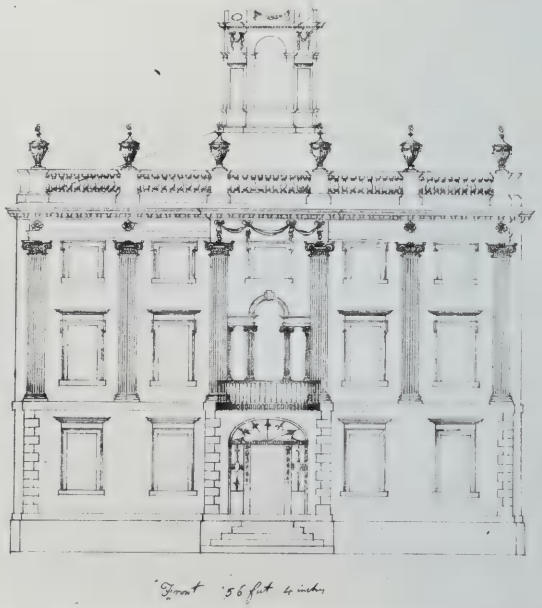
27. *Salem Common on Training Day* by George Ropes (1788-1819). Signed "G. Ropes," dated 1808. Oil on canvas, 35 x 53 in. (107,924).

Two scions of Salem's most illustrious shipping families, sober and straightforward Yankees somberly dressed in brown, were meticulously painted on ivory by an unknown miniaturist (fig. 28). Elias Hasket Derby and Elizabeth Crowninshield united their dynasties in marriage, as did also his sister and her brother; but still the two families' great wharves rivaled each other for domination of Salem's harbor. Elizabeth's parents built the house in which Dr. Bentley boarded with the Crowninshields, his parishioners, writing much of his diary there over a period of nearly thirty years.

Elias, trained in his father's counting-house, fitted out over a hundred revolutionary privateer vessels for intercepting British ships. After the war, "possessed of an uncommon spirit of enterprise,"[39] he explored possibilities for world trade. In 1784 his bark *Light Horse* opened up trade with Russia, bringing back iron, duck (canvas), and hemp. His ship *Grand Turk,* the third from America and the first from Salem to trade with China, in 1787 brought from Canton coveted teas, silks, and porcelains. Derby ships were the first to display the American flag in the Baltic area and in the East. Elias, "the first American millionaire," and his wife died after living for only one year in the Salem mansion designed for them by Samuel McIntire. Although Elizabeth had written on a plan for the facade "Is not large a-nuf,"[40] Dr. Bentley mourned its demolition (20 November 1815): "It was the best finished, most elegant, & best constructed House I ever saw. . . . *Sic transit gloria*" (fig. 29).

Another "merchant prince" of Salem, "Billy" Gray (born in Lynn), owned numerous vessels trading with Europe and the East. A Federalist, he switched in 1808 to join Jefferson's then Republican party, backing the Embargo. Moving to the more politically sympathetic city of Boston, the former Essex County senator served in 1810-1811 as lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts.

Among Gray's imports was a splendid dressing table, made in China following western form, but with Chinese lacquered surface (fig. 30). On a light wood, thin layers of sumac tree gum were spread, each layer burnished to form a thick veneer. The background was colored black, red, green, or brown; figures, usually Chinese, but in this case flowing vines, were painted in gold. English and American furniture, to imitate oriental lacquer, was sometimes "japanned," with chinoiserie figures raised in gesso and painted.



28. *Elias Hasket Derby* (1739-1799) and his wife, *Elizabeth (Crowninshield) Derby* (1736-1799). Miniatures, watercolor on ivory, by unidentified painter. Oval, each 2¾ x 2¼ in. (framed). (124,253 and 124,254).

29. *Study for the Derby Mansion,* built 1795-1799, demolished 1815. Designed by Samuel McIntire (1757-1811). Dated July 21, 1795.

30. *Dressing-table* ("poudreuse") Chinese, c. 1800. Brought to Salem for Captain William (Billy) Gray (1750-1825). Lacquered black with gold. H. 35 in., W. 38½ (open, W. 78½ in.), D. 23 in. (133,000).

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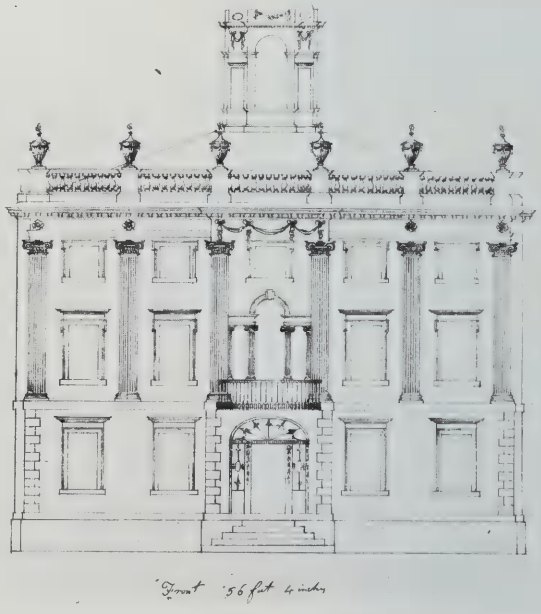

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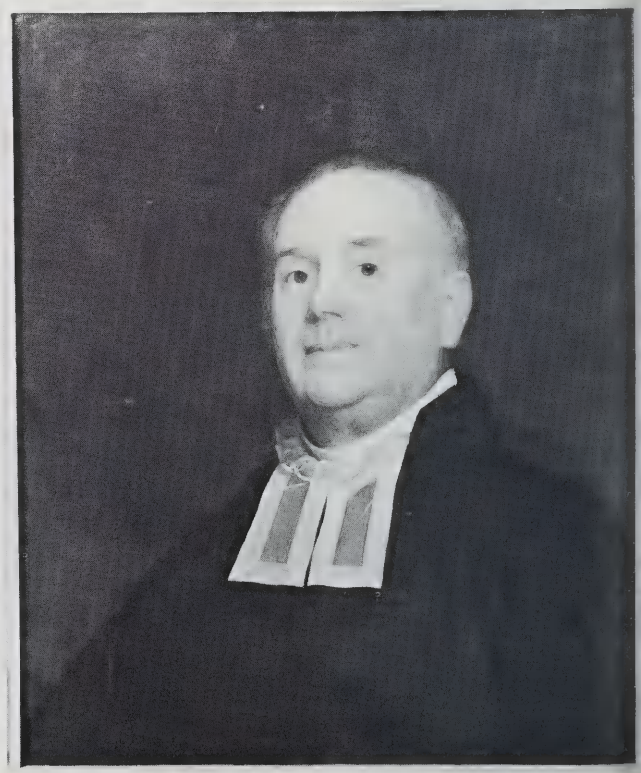
Lacquered objects and ivories, silks, porcelains, and teas, were purchased at Canton by the Americans, known to the Chinese as "second chop Englishmen." Parlor cabinets of seacoast families were filled with "curios" from afar. Salem's vessels, despite encounters with Malay pirates and Spanish corsairs, controlled the pepper trade until about 1850. And they brought spices — cinnamon and ginger — and sea chests lined with sweet sandalwood or aromatic cedar — the essences of the mysterious East which call to mind the exotic Manchu bride of a sea captain in Joseph Hergesheimer's tragic novel of Salem, *Java Head.*

For on-the-spot reporting of life in Salem, turn to any page of the diary of William Bentley, pastor of Salem's East Church from 1783 to his death in 1819. Humanitarian and liberal views earned him many friends; freedom of thought and outspokenness, some enemies. "All of Salem was his parish."[41] Dr. Bentley loved, observed, and recorded every aspect of man and nature; his interests encompassed religion, philosophy, politics, history, science, and the arts. As scholar, linguist, and antiquarian he corresponded with intellectual leaders. A staunch committee man and club member, Bentley attended every parade, ship launching, or cattle show that he could. He was instrumental in forming an "African School" for Salem's black children, he backed the controversial smallpox inoculation program, he encouraged music in Salem. Critical he was, but of himself first. The diary recounts his constant efforts to curb his tongue, to develop patience with the faults and foibles of others. Above all he reveals himself as a man of tremendous physical and intellectual energy and capacity for enjoyment.

Portraits show William Bentley a rotund and ruddy-faced man (fig. 31). Little more than five feet tall, his weight remaining at over two hundred pounds, he was an inveterate walker and swimmer, and claimed that he even slept with his window open! As collector, he acquired geological and botanical specimens, shells, coins, books in ancient and modern languages, a whale's tooth, a rhinoceros's horn, Governor Endecott's sundial. He describes what he purchased, was given, borrowed, bargained for, swapped, examined at friends' houses, or simply heard of. It was partly because Dr. Bentley bequeathed his papers and some of his collections to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, that in 1821 — too late, for Dr. Bentley had died in 1819 — Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke and others founded the Essex Historical Society, the much-needed repository which later became Essex Institute.

Dr. Bentley's diary frequently commented on the spiritual guidance of his parishioners (and others), their births, marriages, joys, sorrows, possessions, deaths, and genealogies. But he was no less interested in the physical aspects of Salem itself, including his church and its weathervane (fig. 32).



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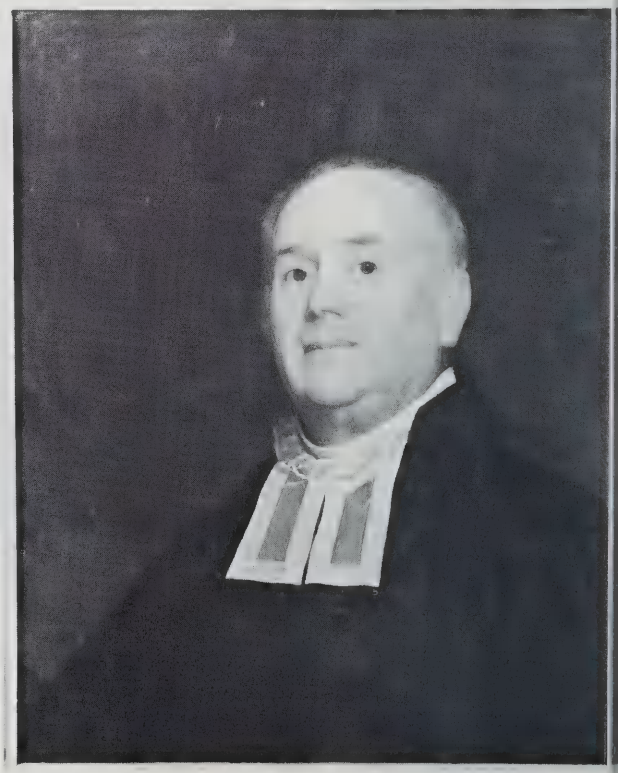


Indefatigably he described over the years the vicissitudes of the stylish bird. He found that Richard Derby, Esq., "paid twelve pounds for a Cock or Vane four feet four inches in length. . . . Thomas Drowne made the Vane in Boston. . . . Steeple raised in June 1771,"[42] (and, two years later, the vane). "The Vane is in a place from which it may be seen most easily at the Wharves, & in the Harbour as well as by the Inhabitants of the Eastern Part of the Town. It was injured by a storm of wind, [1783] which broke off the hinder part," and, minus the tail, became "a Public mark of inattention, & neglect," he wrote on 10 September 1789. At last funds were raised for restoration, and finally, on 25 August 1795, Bentley rejoiced, "This day the Weather Cock ascended the Spire, with his Coat of Gold."

31. *The Reverend William Bentley* (1759-1819), Copied by Charles Osgood (1809-1890) in 1828, after an original portrait by James Frothingham for Benjamin W. Crowninshield. Oil on canvas, 27 x 22 in. (106,809).

32. *Weathercock,* vane from the spire of Dr. Bentley's East Church, Salem, spire raised 1771. Made by Thomas Drowne of Boston (1715-1796). Copper, hammered and gold-leafed, glass eyes. L. 4 ft. 4 in. Wt. 45 pounds (128,560).

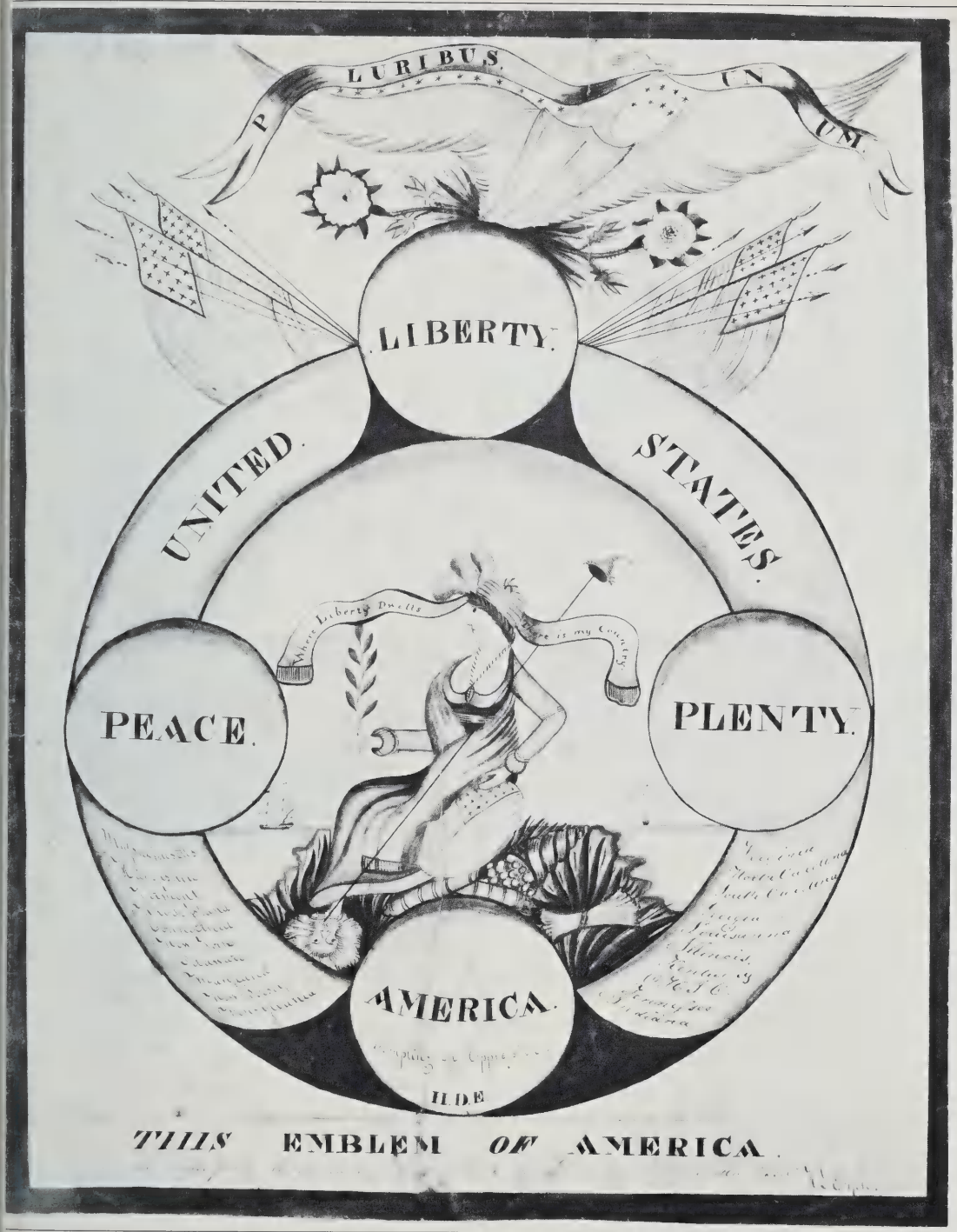
Drowne's vane, convex around the middle, was probably hammered out over a wooden model. Indicators of our fickle winds, other Essex County weathercocks at Amesbury, Manchester, and Ipswich, and a gilded copper fish in Marblehead, are also ancient religious symbols of the Christian faith.

The eagle, our national emblem despite Benjamin Franklin's preference for the turkey, was a new and prevalent symbol in the early days of the republic. It became an eye-catcher on public buildings and home furnishings, and wealth was no prerequisite for its display. Do-it-yourself eagles were painted, stenciled, embroidered, and carved at home.

Who was H. D. Ersele, the primitive watercolorist who painted *This Emblem of America* (fig. 33)? Neither is it known which of eight possible Ipswich-born Aaron Smiths[43] was the lucky recipient of his work. The twenty States of the Union are listed, reinforced by the flags' stars and the scroll in the eagle's beak. The bird rises from a rosebush, perhaps with a nod to our region's British background.

A dignified Goddess of Liberty, seated with one tiny sandaled foot on the head of the British lion, clutches a shield and the olive branch of peace. Above her waves a rakish Liberty Cap, an ancient Phrygian symbol adopted by the American and French revolutionaries. Perched precariously and certainly uncomfortably on two large volumes (knowledge), beside a cornucopia spilling out fruits (plenty), and a wheat sheaf (agriculture), she is backed by an ocean view, a vessel coming and a vessel going (commerce), and we get the picture of our new republic. Her Empire-style dress and beehive turban (industry) with feathers (Indian) complete the patriotic iconography, along with her scarf's boast, "Where Liberty Dwells, There is my Country."

33. "*THIS EMBLEM OF AMERICA*/is respectfully inscribed to Mr. Aaron Smith. By his most Obed^{t} Hum^{ble} Serv^{t}./H. D. Ersele." Watercolor painted by H. D. Ersele c. 1818, in pinks and blues. 18¾ x 14½ in. (132,389).



THIS EMBLEM *OF* AMERICA

1825
1850

The heavy richness of Europe's Empire style, following Napoleonic ideals of the grandeur of ancient Rome, is lavished on a set of Italian drawing room furniture (fig. 34). It was sent from Italy by the agent and friend of Salem shipowner Joseph Peabody as a wedding gift for his daughter. Catherine Elizabeth married John Lowell Gardner in 1826, they moved to Boston, and in due course their son married Isabella Stewart of New York. Socially controversial in conservative Boston, but magnanimously inclined, she built Fenway Court to house her collection of European art for all to enjoy.

Catherine's furniture, recently restored, includes a sofa, two chaises longues, two love seats, six side chairs, rollers, and cushions, all re-covered in specially woven silk-and-cotton damask. The blue ground with gold medallions reproduces the predominating pattern of the original silk. Sculptured details of anthemion and lotus and applied stars embellish the ivory-and-gold-painted woodwork. Such imports, with "old master" paintings, Meissen and Sèvres porcelain and Venetian or Bohemian glass — souvenirs from "the grand tour" of Europe brought back by American travelers — represent an important facet of the Institute's collections. Many, like this furniture, came as gifts from the original owners or their descendants.

An example of the Empire style as interpreted in America, a small chamber organ, was bequeathed to the museum by the maker's daughter, to be "kept as an object of historic and musical interest" (fig. 35). Electrified in 1946 and completely restored in 1972, it is now a much-used concert instrument.[44] George Hook, the builder, and his brother Elias were sons of Salem cabinetmaker William Hook and quite naturally acquired craftsman skills. Both sang in Salem's South Church choir. Elias and perhaps

34. *Chaise longue,* part of a set. Italian, c. 1815, Empire style. Sent to Catherine Elizabeth Peabody of Salem, who married John Lowell Gardner in 1826. Carved wood frame painted ivory and gold. H. 33½ in., W. 64 in. (125,737).

George studied organ-building in Boston, and in 1827 young George built this organ in Salem for W. W. Clap of Boston. His father may have advised in the creation of the magnificent case, with its Ionic columns, S-scrolls, classical lyre for the music rack, carved acanthus leaves, and egg-and-dart moldings. The gilded pipes are dummies, covering the business pipes of lead.

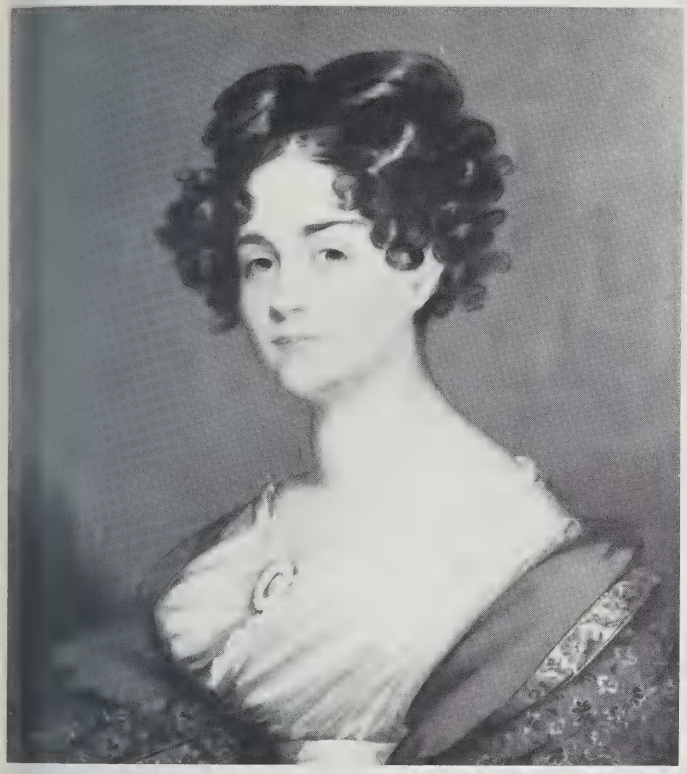
The Hook brothers built nineteen organs in Salem, moved to Boston in 1832, and ran a thriving business over nearly fifty years. Later continued as Hook and Hastings, it was finally dissolved in 1936. A company catalogue, 1827 to 1882, lists organs made for religious, civic, and domestic buildings, to the tune of seven for Salem churches, fourteen for other Essex County churches, and over eleven hundred throughout the country.[45]

The wealth and elegance of the early national period in America are evident in the many portraits in the collection from that era. Charlotte Story Forrester was the daughter of the revolutionary war surgeon, Dr. Elisha Story of Marblehead, and sister of Justice Joseph Story (fig. 36). In 1810 she married John Forrester, whose father had come to Salem from Ireland, commanded privateers during the Revolution, and made a merchant's fortune. Gilbert Stuart painted Charlotte's portrait about 1825 while he was working in Boston. Mother of eight children at the time, she appears younger than her thirty-seven years, and is skillfully presented with a mature expression but youthful complexion. Her pose is confident and relaxed, her face alert and intelligent, with a touch of humor; evidently life has

35. *Chamber Organ* built in 1827 by George G. Hook of Salem (1807-1880). Empire style; rosewood, birdseye maple, white pine carved and gilded details. One manual, 4½ octaves, six stops. H. 8 ft. 10 in., W. 4 ft. 11¼ in., D. 2 ft. 2 in. (112,452).

36. *Charlotte Story Forrester* (1788-1867). Head painted about 1825 by Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), remainder completed by his daughter Jane (1812-1888). Oil on panel. 27 x 22 in. (103,354).

37. *Elizabeth (Foote) Nichols* (1777-1846), by Benjamin Franklin West (1818-1854). Oil on canvas, 1836. 25 x 20 in. (129,155.2).



been kind to her. Gray-green eyes, rosy cheeks, and rich chestnut hair fashionably coiffed, all were painted "con amore" to bring out the best. Stuart, trained in the studio of Benjamin West in England, painted in the manner of the best English portraitists in his early career, but by the end of his life, when he painted Mrs. Forrester's portrait, his style had changed markedly. It is believed that his daughter Jane finished Mrs. Forrester's portrait, filling in the details of her Empire-style dress and red, multiflowered Indian cashmere shawl.[46]

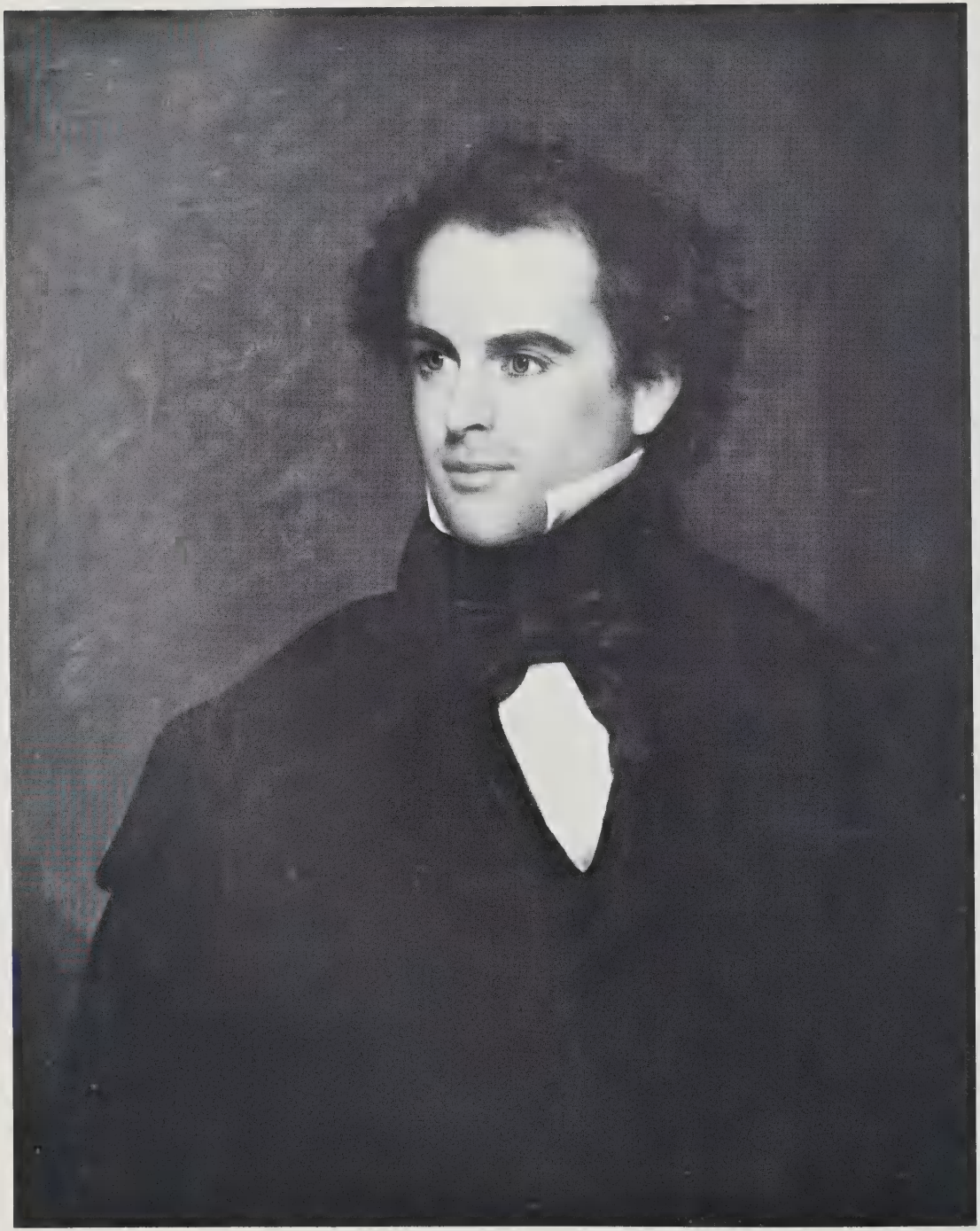
The Essex Institute owns many luxurious cashmere shawls, but also the white starched collars, muslin caps, and steel-rimmed spectacles like those in a portrait of Elizabeth Foote Nichols (fig. 37). "For Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do" was surely the philosophy of this sad, suspicious, compulsive knitter. One looks in vain for some hint of happiness, kindness, or humor in her disapproving gaze. Elizabeth Foote Nichols was portrayed by Benjamin F. West, a young Salem artist, when she was fifty-nine. The primitive painter's emphasis on linear detail has made of her face a chart of time's wrinkles and disappointment's lines.

Elizabeth married first (in 1799) John Rogers of Ipswich, England, who died four years later on shipboard passage from China. In 1808 she married a second Englishman, John Nichols of Margate, whose death date is unknown. He may have died before 1836 when West painted this portrait, for Elizabeth's black dress and muslin cap with two black bands suggest mourning. Beyond the red velvet curtain an eerie land-and-seascape includes a sailboat, a lighthouse, two dead trees, and a leafy tree at left. Do the dead trees represent two husbands lost, and the leafy branches, children still living? This joyless woman died of palsy in 1846, "wid. of John, ae. 69."[47]

Lucy Elizabeth Winchester of Danvers performed skillful handwork, as did many young girls of her era (fig. 38). She made a "pantin" or jumping-jack of cardboard, jointing it at the hips and knees with thread so that when she manipulated the attached strings the little figure could leap vivaciously up and down. Perhaps Lucy had seen pictures of such romantic ballets as *La Sylphide* of 1832 or *Giselle* of 1841. Her drawing of the dancer's face is amateurish, but a tiny ear suggests that the head is slightly turned. The head and the ballet slippers she painted in watercolor, front and back.

More skilled at sewing than drawing, Lucy made the flounced dress of pale blue satin, with tulle overdress and the long pantalettes worn between 1835 and 1845. The full sleeves miraculously become one with the garlanded half-hoop held over the dancer's head. Tucks and folds are competently stitched. A hundred years earlier the "pantin" in France and Germany was a plaything for adults and children alike. Imitated in England and America, it varied from the crudest of homemade "dancing dolls" to expensively dressed store-bought ones.[48]

38. *Dancing doll* ("pantin") made by Lucy Elizabeth Winchester (born 1821 in Danvers), about 1835-1845. Cardboard with jointed legs, activated as a puppet by attached strings. Partially painted; dressed in satin and tulle. H. 16 in. (128,901).



A homemade "pantin" is one form of artistic creation; Nathaniel Hawthorne's humorous self-description is another: ". . . that noble brow, those hyacinthine locks, that mouth bright with smiles or tremulous with feeling, that flashing or melting eye. . . ."[49] Each characteristic is inherent in Charles Osgood's compelling portrait of Hawthorne in 1840, at thirty-six, two years before his happy marriage to Sophia Amelia Peabody (fig. 39). He had already written *Twice-Told Tales* (1837); later came his Salem novels, *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851). Hawthorne's psychological insight into his characters, his plots, and his evocations of locale have held readers' interest and imagination worldwide for over a century. Hawthorne returned to Salem again and again throughout his life. Essex Institute's museum and library contain many documents and objects related to the author.

Hawthorne grew up in Salem, and from his schoolboy days, Essex Institute owns seven pages of a little newssheet, *The Spectator,* which he and his sister had printed by hand; from his college days at Bowdoin, there is a letter from the college to his mother, asking her to persuade her son to stop playing cards. The museum owns his wallet used at Bowdoin, with his inked name spelled "Hathorne" and dated during the year of his graduation, 1825, and a pane of glass on which he inscribed his name (still "Hathorne") and the date 1826 with a diamond point. It came from the Herbert Street house, one of five houses in Salem in which he lived. Soon he changed his name to "Hawthorne" to disassociate himself from his ancestor, the witchcraft judge John Hathorne.

He moved in desultory fashion from one occupation to another — as weigher and gauger at the Boston Custom House, as surveyor of the Port at Salem, as American consul in Liverpool, England. He lived briefly with the Transcendentalists at Brook Farm in West Roxbury and later in Concord, in West Newton, and in Lenox, all in Massachusetts, but he seems to have held a special affinity for Salem. His son Julian wrote, "In fact, after freeing himself from Salem, Hawthorne never found any permanent rest anywhere."[50] How much of Salem appears in Hawthorne's writings! Some of the landmarks he mentioned such as the doorway of the house in *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret* or the bell from the tower of the East Church are now in the Essex Institute collections.

39. *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (1804-1864) by Charles Osgood (1809-1890). Oil on canvas, 1840. 29½ x 24 in. (121,459).

The Institute's portrait of Hawthorne is one of Charles Osgood's finest paintings. Osgood studied with Chester Harding and in New York. He worked mostly in Salem and Boston, depicting leaders in the business, political, artistic, and social worlds, their wives, and their pretty blond children. Osgood's painterly proficiency shows Hawthorne as handsome, vivacious, and intense, his inner intellectual activity expressed through vitality of outward appearance. Charles Osgood also portrayed Joseph Story, but this silhouette was cut by the French profilist, Edouart (fig. 40). Story practised law in Salem, was vice president of the Essex Historical Society, held various state and national offices, and at thirty-two was appointed chief justice of the United States Supreme Court by President Jefferson. Story led an active life of law, politics, writing, and teaching; but his son, the sculptor William Wetmore Story, wrote, "His occupation did not cling to him. . . . He left the author in the library, the judge on the bench, the professor in the lecture-room, and became purely the social man in social intercourse."[51] Story was Salem's official host to President Monroe in 1819 and to General Lafayette in 1824.

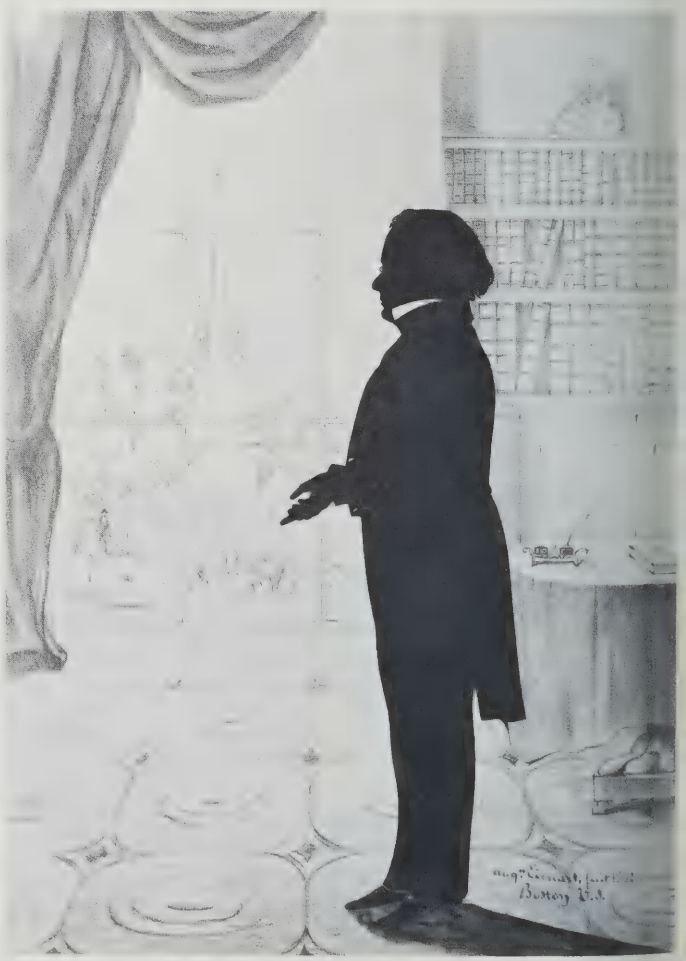
He moved to Cambridge as Harvard's Dane Professor of Law in 1829, living on Brattle at Hilliard Street, commuting between Harvard and Washington. Greatly beloved by his students, he made the Harvard Law School "the accepted model of schools of law wherever the common law prevailed."[52] In 1842 Edouart cut Story's silhouette in black paper, adding penciled details. He pasted it on a lithographed background, a Cambridge view also used to set off his profile of Catherine Maria Sedgwick.[53] Edouart preferred full-length portraits to the head alone, stressing stance, posture, and gesture to express personality. Judge Story's silhouette is a speaking likeness. "Conversation was his gymnasium."[54] Nevertheless, Dr. Bentley once observed him in "an open engagement at fisty cuffs" with Hersey Derby over politics.[55]

An unknown but talented sculptor carved this

40. *Joseph Story* (1779-1846) by Augustin C. F. Edouart (1789-1861). Signed "Aug^{n}. Edouart, fecit 1842/Boston U.S." Silhouette, black paper touched with penciled details, mounted on lithographed background. 11⅛ x 5⅛ in. (103,366).

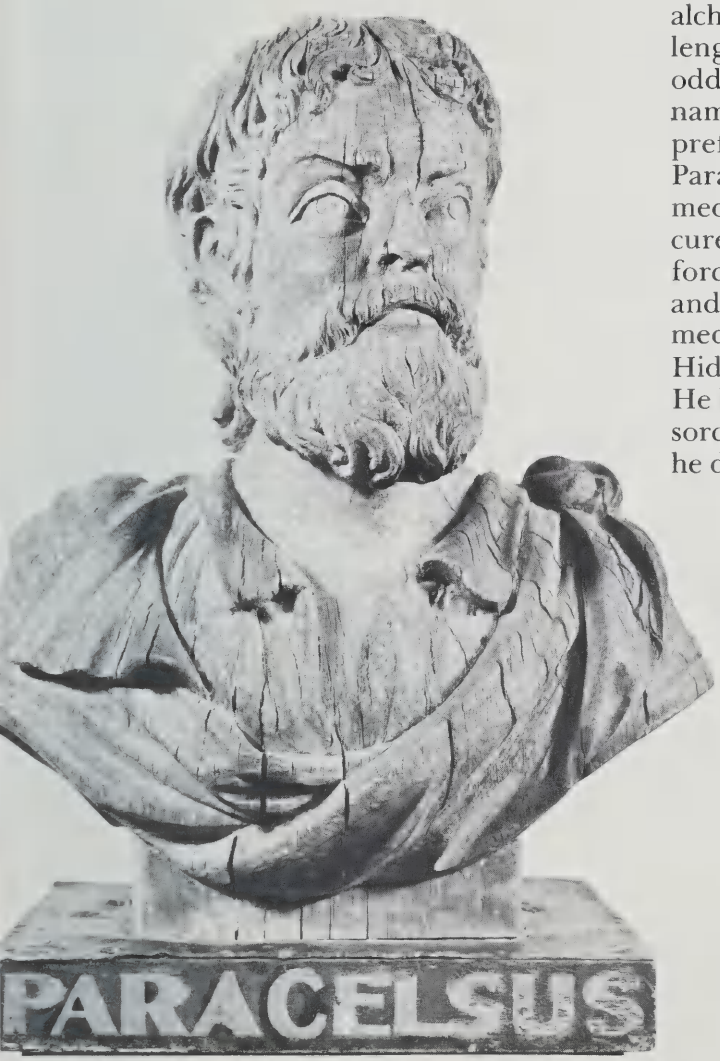
41. *Paracelsus* (Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim), Swiss physician and alchemist, (1493-1541). Imaginary bust portrait carved of wood, originally painted, by an unidentified sculptor. H. inclu. base, 24 in. (116,795).

42. *Apothecary shop of James Emerton,* in Salem 1839-1875. Drawing, pen and ink with sepia wash, showing bust of Paracelsus, c. 1850. Signed "W. H. Emmerton del." 13½ x 9¾ in. (131,461).



bust of Paracelsus (fig. 41), originally perched over James Emerton's apothecary shop. The druggist installed it in 1849 when he enlarged his store front, as shown in a drawing by James's cousin, William, a Salem architect (fig. 42). James advertised in the *Salem Directory* of 1851, "At the Sign of Paracelsus," seeing him as the ideal patron for his store. The bust is one of several figurative shop signs in the Institute's collections.

Paracelsus was a Swiss Renaissance physician and alchemist, memorialized by Robert Browning in his lengthy poem of 1835, *Paracelsus,* as "the genius at odds with his environment." The genius took his name from Celsus, an ancient Roman physician, prefixing it with Para, "equal to." A vagrant scholar, Paracelsus burned books, debunked popular medical treatments, and performed "miraculous" cures at seven European universities. Trusting in the forces of nature in healing, the first to use laudanum and mercury, he established the role of chemistry in medicine. Paracelsus declared, "Magick is a Great Hidden Wisdom — Reason is a Great Open Folly." He believed in learning from "old wives, gipsies, sorcerers, wandering tribes, old robbers"; and this he did, in Russia, Hungary, Egypt, and Arabia.[56]



1850
1930

Mrs. Lucy Cleveland's delightfully anecdotal handmade figures are little known outside of Salem (fig. 43). The Essex Institute owns nine, all given by Salem residents. With their stuffed rag or kid faces and limbs, they still wear the clothes in which Lucy dressed them as gifts for friends or for sale at charity bazaars. She was also something of a novelist, having published anonymously such moralistic tales as *Pride Subdued.*

Pervaded by "a cowslip wine and seedcake atmosphere,"[57] Mrs. Cleveland's groups tell in a modest, local, and personal idiom many of the same stories that John Rogers modeled, and Norman Rockwell painted, in later years. Grandmother and nurse show the new baby; women bend over their stitching at a quilting bee; a family, including a weeping black servant woman, gathers around the sickbed of an elderly invalid. Mrs. Cleveland's rag figure of a wounded black fugitive triumphantly raising a "FREE" sign makes as strong an antislavery statement as do John Rogers's clay group, "The Fugitive's Story,"[58] and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

43. *The New Baby,* group made by Lucy (Hiller) Lambert Cleveland (1780-1866) of Salem, c. 1855. Platform 11¾ x 12⅛ in., H. older woman 9¾ in. (105,329).

The successful Salem-born sculptor, John Rogers, produced and widely advertised groups of figures which enlivened Victorian parlors already embellished with family portraits, paintings of sheep and cows, overstuffed furniture, and souvenirs. Studies abroad only alienated him from academic styles, and most of his work, done in New York City, he based on observation. Commercially reproduced, the figures, first modeled in clay by Rogers, were cast as bronze molds, and then with glue as a medium, were cast in a plaster compound and painted "clay color" (fig. 44).

The Essex Institute has Rogers groups of Shakespearean characters reenacting their roles, historical subjects, and, most popular, his everyday scenes. Suitable for doctors' offices were "Weighing the Baby" and "The Charity Patient"; for the home, perhaps "The Favored Scholar." Later scorned as "sentimental," such groups have been rediscovered as true representations of human emotion and behavior, whether in a mischievous child, a coyly dignified young lady, or a frightened refugee; they also provide documentation of Victorian period furnishings, dress, and accessories.

Rogers's "Council of War," also in the Institute's collections, portrays "the great and sad" President Lincoln, Secretary of War Stanton, and General Grant,[59] their faces showing the strain and sorrow of a country divided by civil war. Of Essex County's soldiers Essex Institute has many reminders: Pickering Dodge Allen's portrait (he died of wounds and malaria in Louisiana); the Salem Zouave uniform of Charles F. Williams (killed at Antietam); the breast-pocket Bible, a bullet lodged in its pages, (which saved a young Newbury farmer); the replacement Bible sent to that farmer by President Lincoln; and the barrel-shaped draft-wheel which chose by lottery the Union Army recruits from Salem's Fifth District.

Salem, incorporated as a city in 1836, lost her shipping to deeper harbors, but other transportation developed as new industries replaced the counting houses and ropewalks of seafaring days. Cotton, wool, leather, and lead mills brought new citizens to Essex County — French-Canadian, Polish, Greek, and Italian. From Gloucester (*Captains Courageous* country) Portuguese fishermen sailed to the Grand Banks; and in Rockport the granite quarries were worked by men from Finland.

44. *The Fugitive's Story,* portraying the abolitionists Whittier, Beecher, and Garrison. By John Rogers (1829-1904). Signed: JOHN ROGERS/NEW YORK, patented September 7, 1869 (price then was $25). Cast in plaster and painted. H. 22 in. (102,125a).

THE FUGITIVE'S STORY

Salem's first railroad station was built in 1838, a small wooden Greek Revival temple. The Eastern Railroad (later Boston and Maine), a Salem enterprise, ran between Boston and Salem in 1838, and after completion of a tunnel, it ran to Ipswich and Newburyport in 1840, and subsequently to other Essex County towns.[60] The city's second railroad station was built in 1847 (fig. 45), copied after a structure in England. The architect, Gridley J. F. Bryant of Boston, built the formidably battlemented granite towers and wide-arched entrance like the access to a medieval walled town. The station was razed in 1954 in the vain hope of improving Salem's traffic pattern, and is still deeply mourned as a lost monument of the past.

In this 1865 lithograph, the old train tunnel, six hundred and fifty feet long, is about to receive the train from Boston, emerging from the station, heading north. The "horse railroad," also shown in the lithograph, ran first to South Danvers in 1863, and before long the horsecars connected much of the county.[61] Thyng and Babbidge, creators of this 1865 lithograph, advertised as "job printers." They also published a handout, *Salem Witch,* three thousand copies per week, "Gratuitous throughout the City, also in the Steam and Horse Cars . . ." with "Advertisements of an Unchaste Nature not inserted."[62]

A city of new stone buildings and old wooden ones, Salem appears in drawings, paintings, prints, and photography. Ann R. Bray's shop was a landmark, specializing for sixty years in dry goods and, unexpectedly, pianofortes (fig. 46). Miss Bray lived here keeping shop until her death in 1877, and was succeeded by her clerk of forty years, Miss Eliza Punchard, seventy-seven when she took charge.[63] The clapboarded house shows one of the two shop windows with folding shutters, displaying sprigged and checked fabrics; the establishment recalls Aunt Hepzibah's "cent shop," though on a larger scale.

Modest and unassuming, Miss Eliza doubtless needed coaxing to be photographed, but her fine features reveal Yankee shrewdness, a twinkle of fun, the no-nonsense firmness of "a zealous and faithful Sabbath School teacher" at the Tabernacle Church,[64] and the kind of beauty which had perhaps increased with age. "She was cherished and beloved by all who knew her."[65]

45. *Lithographic view of Washington Street, Salem,* 1865, showing the Eastern Railroad's second Salem station. Signed: "Thyng del." and published by Thyng and Babbidge in Salem in 1865. Image 15 x 21 in. (115,722.2).

46. *Miss Eliza F. Punchard* (1801-1889) at Ann R. Bray's dry goods shop, 76 Federal Street, Salem. Photograph (top cropped) by Edwin N. Peabody, Salem, c. 1875. 7¾ x 4¾ in.

ANN R. BR

Miss Punchard's dark dress of the late 1870s has a velvet collar and cuffs relieved by touches of white, and the bodice has innumerable buttons. The skirt, with laterally draped front and ruffled hem, was drawn to the back, there to be gathered into the bustle. Dress styles underwent several changes during her lifetime. Her mother wore long high-waisted, straight-hanging, Empire-style dresses in muslin or thin cotton. When Eliza was thirty, skirts were shorter, showing the ankle, and balanced above by enormous sleeves. At fifty, Eliza's very full skirt was supported by a hooped frame; then gradually the front fullness was flattened, draped, and swept to the rear, where it was backed up by the wire or padded bustle underneath. Sewing machines were generally used by 1850, but some clothes were still hand-tailored or made at home.

The Institute's costume collection dates between 1750 and 1950, and consists of men's, women's, and children's clothes, mostly of high style. Few everyday garments have survived; some families remade their clothes, passed them along as "hand-me-downs," and finally used the scraps in braided rugs or patchwork quilts. Dresses, coats, trousers, shirts, outerwear and underwear, hats and headdresses, and footwear for all ages are numerous. So are accessories — jewelry, purses, fans, parasols, flowers made of feathers, and jewelry made of hair. A handsomely tailored gray faille dress of the late 1860s (fig. 47) is one of several hundred dresses which reflect eight generations of changing fashions in the Institute's costume collection.

47. *Daytime dress,* c. 1865-1870. Three-piece, with skirt, bodice and separate sash. Hand-sewn of pale gray silk faille, with white satin piping and beaded soutache trim in gray and beige. (134,231).

The Salem artist Frank Weston Benson created many portraits of stylish turn-of-the-century men and women. In his sympathetic portrait of his friend and fellow artist, Philip Little, Benson used his brush with delicate impressionist touches (fig. 48). Neighbors on Salem's beautiful Chestnut Street, they would appear striding along together, both over six feet tall and handsome. Benson captures the aristocratic bearing and quizzical expression of this "warm and witty conversationalist,"[66] whom he portrayed at forty-nine. Shown against a dark background, Little wears a dark brown coat and tie; his stickpin displays an orange stone, echoing his own hair and moustache in color. His picturesque quality is enhanced by Benson's angular treatment of line in the collar, vest, and coat lapels, the pocket handkerchief adding accent. Frank Benson believed that "design is the only thing that matters" and that talent results from "hard work and intense mental effort," given "the capacity for work and the necessary intelligence."[67]

After Benson's studies in Boston and at Paris's Académie Julien, he taught at the Boston Museum School of Fine Arts for over twenty years, and exhibited in 1895 with the American impressionist group, "The Ten." First portraiture, then nature studies, brought him honors and awards. His black-and-white etchings of wild fowl and duck-hunting scenes show the beauty of light on water, as well as the sportsman's first-hand knowledge of shore life. Mr. Benson was curator of ornithology at the Peabody Museum of Salem, a trustee for almost forty years, and a member of the Essex Institute for fifty-seven years.

Philip Little served the Essex Institute as councillor, curator of art, and chairman of the Committee of Fine Arts for long periods between 1915 and 1942. He was also an alderman, member of the Board of Health and the School Board, captain of the Salem Cadets, and a pioneer in the field of camouflage during World War I.

Like Benson, Philip Little studied at the Museum School of Fine Arts, at that time located in Copley Square in Boston. He too was an impressionist painter and a print maker. In 1914, after the Salem Fire, he built a specially designed stucco studio overlooking Salem Harbor and Derby Wharf, the subject of a painting which he named "A Relic of History" (fig. 49). Dories in the foreground, an East Indiaman of 1788, a privateersman of the War of 1812, and two steam tugs nosing a four-masted coal barge into port, link past and present. Little painted with a thickly loaded brush and a slashing brush stroke, blending warm tones with cool to give a generally muted effect. A cold, cloudy sky with occasional shafts of sunlight, the icy water, and snowy remainders on old pilings, street, roofs, and derelict barrels, all contribute to the raw truth — Old Derby Wharf looks anything but shipshape.

48. *Philip Little* (1857-1942) by Frank W. Benson (1862-1951). Oil on canvas. Signed "F. W. Benson, 1906." 30 x 25 in. (134,213).

49. *A Relic of History, Old Derby Wharf, Salem* by Philip Little (1857-1942). Oil on canvas, c. 1915. 47¼ x 59 in. (100,278).

A drypoint by Samuel Chamberlain, a reminder of Essex County's proximity to Boston's historical and artistic influences, shows Faneuil Hall (fig. 50), originally an assembly hall as well as a market, built in the 1740s with additions of the early 1800s by Charles Bulfinch. Boston mayor Josiah Quincy's domed market of the 1820s at right, built of Quincy granite, appears as it looked before the market area was reincarnated as a dining and shopping mall during recent urban preservation.

Samuel Chamberlain made this drypoint in France from his Boston sketches, endowing the old buildings, the trucks, and the push carts with a baroque splendor of design and light and shadow. Trained as an architectural draftsman, throughout his life he held "a joyous enthusiasm for architecture,"[68] and he was fascinated in his travels and his work in America and Europe by the design and structure of houses and cottages, cathedrals, colleges, and courtyards. This old market place which once specialized in excellent meats was a fitting subject for one who wrote, "gastronomy has sometimes tried to elbow the graphic arts out of position."[69] He and his wife wrote and illustrated the splendid *Bouquet de France* and similar volumes on Italian and British cuisine, their records of travel and regional recipes spiced with Chamberlain's drawings, watercolors, etchings, and photographs of architecture. His picture books have shown the beauty of light and shadow, sun and snow, on New England towns, including Salem, and on Marblehead, where the Chamberlains have lived since the 1930s. "Springtime in Salem" and "Summer Shadows" in Marblehead, as well as views of Gloucester and Rockport are among his Essex County etchings and drypoints.

The artist studied architectural drafting at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and etching in France. During World War I, attached to the American Field Service in France, he acquired a lifelong love of that country, her people, her cuisine, and her fine wines — as well as the Croix de Guerre. Throughout his prints, photographs, and writings there bubbles that "joyous enthusiasm" with which Mr. Chamberlain viewed not only architecture, but all of life. Each print has an integrity of self, the appearance of having been created out of particular respect for its individual subject. The joy in his print making and the sparkle of humor in his writing seem to reflect the artist himself; like his work, Samuel Chamberlain could best be described by the title of his autobiography, *Etched in Sunlight.*

50. *Faneuil Hall, Boston,* showing old Quincy Market. By Samuel Chamberlain (1895-1975). Drypoint done in France after his Boston sketches, 1929. 7¼ x 11½ in. (132,037).

Conclusion

With a collection of approximately seventy-five thousand objects exhibited or stored in ten different buildings, it is evident that each successive generation at the Institute must continue the search for, and identification of, the many treasures which have lain dormant for years. In the process of rediscovery, many a Sleeping Beauty has been awakened by a Prince Charming — the conservator — who will restore her to life and make her presentable. No longer do portraits undergo the "prettying up" perpetrated upon them in the past, nor do prints and fabrics still get glued onto pine boards all too ready to share their sap with the surfaces. With occasional financial help from private individual sources, corporations, foundations, and state and federal agencies, the Institute has embarked on a program of preserving through professional conservators those pieces most in need of care. Exhibition of both the permanent collections and objects on loan, as well as interpretation of them for public information and enjoyment, are corollaries of the old admonishment to "collect and preserve the authentic memorials" of Essex County's history. Philosophies and fashions of exhibition techniques do change as the pendulum swings back and forth, but each object still maintains the integrity of its particular beauty or historic interest to amaze, delight, and instruct the visitor to Essex Institute.

51. *Fan,* probably French, 1824; used in Salem honoring Lafayette's visit. Ivory sticks, silk leaf hand-painted in pinks and blues. 11 x 16½ in., open (4,018).

Notes

1. Since 1867 Essex Institute's natural history collections have been deposited at the Peabody Museum of Salem, then known as the Peabody Academy of Science.

2. Charles S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, *Historical Sketch of Salem, 1626-1879*. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1879), pp. 243, 244.

3. Richard Hall Wiswall, "Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 66(1930):459.

4. Dean A. Fales, Jr., *Essex County Furniture: Documented Treasures from Local Collections 1660-1860,* a catalogue of a loan exhibition, June 22 to October 12, 1965 (Salem: Essex Institute, 1965) no. 8.

5. Edward Johnson, "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England, Being a Relation of the firste planting in New England, in the Yeere 1628, Untill the Yeere 1652. . . ," (first published as a tract in 1654) *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 2 (second series) (Boston: printed by John Eliot, 1814), p. 69.

6. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.,* 4 vols. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1914; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962), April 17, 1810.

7. *Catalogue of the Articles in the Museum of the East-India Marine Society, in Salem, Massachusetts,* The East-India Marine Society of Salem, 1821, p. 78, no. 1669. (In *Tracts of Various Societies*).

8. E. N. Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus; the Lynn and Braintree ventures of the Company of Undertakers of the Ironworks in New England* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 4.

9. Hartley, p. 215.

10. Quoted in James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), 306-307.

11. *Salem Gazette,* 1 February 1859.

12. Charles Wentworth Upham, *Salem Witchcraft, with an account of Salem Village and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects.* 2 vols. (Boston: 1869; reprint ed. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.: 1959), 2:168 (American Classics).

13. Howard Herschel Cotterell, *Old Pewter, Its Makers and Marks in England, Scotland and Ireland; an Account of the Old Pewterer and his Craft* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1929; reprint ed. Rutland, Vermont, & Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963), p. 7.

14. Percy E. Raymond, "The Herrick Porringer," *The Pewter Collectors' Club of America,* Bulletin 14 (October 1944): 7-9.

15. Heraldic information from correspondence with P. Ll. Gwynn-Jones M.A., Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms, The College of Arms, London.

16. Phillips, *Salem in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 151.

17. George Francis Dow, *The Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman of Salem, Massachusetts* (Newport, Rhode Island, 1928), p. 18.

18. "The Pickman Silver" (no author listed), *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 39 (1903): 97-120.

19. Clifford Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates: Biographical Sketches of Those who Attended Harvard College in the Classes 1731-1735,* 17 vols., (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1956) 9:297-8.

20. Alan Burroughs, *John Greenwood in America, 1745-1752* (Andover, Mass.: Phillips Academy, Addison Gallery of American Art, 1943), p. 10.

21. William D. Dennis, "The Fire Clubs of Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 39 (1903): 1-28.

22. E. O. Jameson, *The Choates in America, 1643-1896: John Choate and his Descendants* (Boston, 1896), pp. 31-34.

23. *The Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of Ipswich, Massachusetts, Aug. 16, 1884* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1884), pp. 148-9. Three more verses follow.

24. Thomas Franklin Waters, *Ipswich River, its Bridges, Wharves and Industries* (Ipswich, Mass.: Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, 24, 1923), p. 14.

25. "The Inventory of the Estate of the late Widow H. Cabot of Salem taken Nov. 21, 1764." Family mss, Fairfax Family; Salem, Mass., & Belvoir, Virginia, Essex Institute library.

26. *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of English Chintz,* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, May 18th to July 17th, 1960 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), cat. no. 14.

27. Gertrude Z. Thomas, *Richer than Spices: How a royal bride's dowry introduced cane, lacquer, cottons, tea and porcelain to England, and so revolutionized taste, manners, craftsmanship, and history in both England and America* (New York: Knopf, 1965).

28. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War,* a compilation from the Archives, prepared and published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, 17 vols. (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., State Printers, 1896-1908) 4:261.

29. Sidney Perley, *History of Boxford,* (Boxford, Mass.: published by the author), p. 217.

30. John J. Currier, *History of Newburyport,* 2 vols. (Newburyport, Mass.: published by the author 1906 and printed for the author 1909), 1:598-601.

31. Information from Malcolm Johnson, honorary curator of Essex Institute's military collections.

32. Currier, *History of Newburyport,* 2:365.

33. Demolished in 1857, the town house was replaced by Plummer Hall (built for the Salem Athenaeum), purchased by the Institute 1906.

34. Nina Fletcher Little, "The Blyths of Salem: Benjamin, Limner in Crayons and Oil, and Samuel, Painter and Cabinetmaker," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 108 (1972):49-57.

35. Sidney Fiske Kimball, *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver: The Architect of Salem* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1940; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1966), pp. 17, 20.

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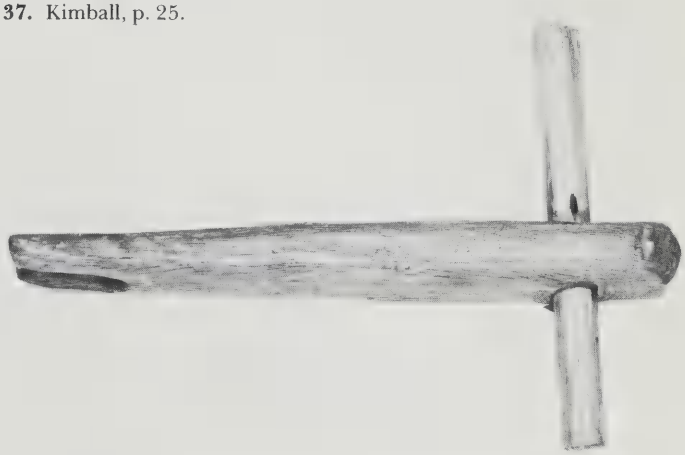

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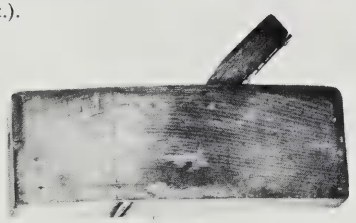

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61. Osgood and Batchelder, pp. 233, 234.

62. *The Salem Directory,* 1866, advertising section p. 56.

63. *The Salem Directory,* 1879, advertisement p. 360.

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Tools, assorted eighteenth-century wooden tools are scattered through the footnotes.

52. *School street, Salem* by Dr. Joseph Orne (1749-1786). Watercolor drawing c. 1765. 13¼ x 16⅞ in. (1,175).

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